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## I. TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES

*a—Linguistique et philologie*

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### TWO NOTES ON ARMENIAN LINGUISTICS

by

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#### I. THE INDO-EUROPEAN RELATIONS OF ARMENIAN *oyc*

The Indo-European guttural in Armenian *oyc* ‘cold’ is ambiguous since in position after *\*u* the gutturals were neutralised as apparent palatals in Armenian: *aucanem*, *auc-i* (aor.) ‘annoint’ (Old Irish *imb* ‘butter’, Welsh (y)m-enyn Breton *amanenn* < *\*ng<sup>w</sup>-*: OPrussian *anktan*<sup>1</sup> < *\*ong<sup>w</sup>-to-m*); *luc lcoy*<sup>2</sup> (Latin *iugum*, OLatin *iouxmenta*, Welsh *iau*<sup>3</sup>, Eng. *yoke*, Slavic *igo*, Skt. *yugám* < *\*iug-ó-m*); *loys lusoy* ‘light’ (Welsh *llygad* ‘eye’, *llygedyn* ‘ray of light’, Latin *lūceō*, Lithuanian *laũkas* ‘field’, Slovene *lúč* (fem.) ‘light’ < *\*l(o)uk-*). Therefore in principle Arm. *oyc* could reflect either *\*(s/p/k<sup>w</sup>)oug-*, or *\*oug-* < *\*ong<sup>w</sup>-*, or *\*ouǵ-* (cf. *acem*, = Skt. *ájāmi*, Gk. ἄγω, Lat. *agit*, OIr. 3sg. *ad-aig*, Welsh 1sg. *af*, 3sg. *â/eit*).

The labio-velar is possible on the Latvian evidence of *aũkst*; although the diphthong *aũ* excludes any direct relation with a preceding Armenian nasal. The Lithuanian *áušta* ‘gets cold’ apparently excludes the likelihood of an IE labio-velar or velar.

The Celtic evidence now becomes useful. There can be no doubt that IE *\*g<sup>w</sup>r* gives Celtic *\*br*; cf. Breton *breo*, *breou*, Welsh *breuan*<sup>4</sup> ‘quern’, and my analysis of IE *\*g<sup>w</sup>reH<sub>a</sub>uon*<sup>5</sup>. In old medial position the lenited

<sup>1</sup> See E.P. HAMP, “Old Prussian *anktan*”, *Baltistica* 27, 1991, 43.

<sup>2</sup> Arm. *l-* is the normal outcome for IE *\*j-*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. K.H. JACKSON, *A Historical Phonology of Breton* (Dublin 1967) 238, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See JACKSON *op. laud.* 284 §390 (3).

<sup>5</sup> “I.E. *\*g<sup>w</sup>reHauon*” *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 33, 1975, 41-3.

product of *\*-br-* may result in a spirant or in Breton become vocalised<sup>6</sup>, but in any case the labialisation remains. Besides, a preceding nasal should not be lost in Celtic. Thus Welsh *oer* 'cold' should not reflect *\*-br-*, nor *\*ongʷ-*. On the other hand, we must equate *oer* with OIr. *uar*, which, regarded as a lenition product, has given modern Scottish Gaelic *fuair* 'cold'; in turn, the latter must be related to OIr. *uacht*, Sc. Gaelic *fuachd* [fuəxg] 'cold (noun)'. The only way to relate these two kindred etyma is as *\*ouxt-* or *\*oukt-* and *\*ougro-*; i.e. *\*oug-t-* and *\*oug-ro-*.

Now we have seen that Lithuanian seems to exclude *\*oug-*. Therefore the IE base for the Armenian, Baltic, and Celtic is *\*(H)ouǵ-*. The initial laryngeal could be the first, third, or fourth.

## II. INFERRED SEMANTICS AND MORPHOLOGY

### 1. *get* 'river'

The noun *get -oy* as an *o*-stem seems by its *e* vocalism to be best derived from an old *s*-stem; R. Schmitt<sup>7</sup> is correct that this cannot be an old *r/n* stem. This in turn implies the former presence of an old verb related to the Skt. *unád-mi* etc. If in this way we recover *\*uéd-os*, originally 'a product of moistening, wetting, inundating', and an ancient neuter, we have one more indirect testimony to the verb reflected in Lithuanian *vanduō* (and its Baltic congeners)<sup>8</sup> 'water', in the fresh τoμῆ formation in Slavic *voda*<sup>9</sup>, and in German *naß* (*nasz*), on which see "Nasz" in *Northwestern European Language Evolution* (NOWELE, Odense) 3, 1984, 49-57.

### 2. *goy* 'is'

In this precious form we have an exact descendant of IE *\*uose*, a morphological perfect, and an equivalent to Eng. *was* (past), etc. The fact that the English forms a natural suppletion to *am/is* and *be* and that the presential semantics of the Armenian becomes so prominent makes this an interesting case for evidence of a preterite-present rôle in IE for *\*uos-*. The vocalism of Old Irish *foaid* 'spends the night' supports this; on this IE base see *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 12, 1969, 151-69. This accounting of the *o*-grade vocalism seems more explanatory than an attribution to the class reflected in the Hittite *hi*-conjugation.

<sup>6</sup> See JACKSON 240 §334 (3), 242 §336 ff., 252 §349 (2), 263 §365 (2) and ff.

<sup>7</sup> R. SCHMITT, *Grammatik des Klassisch-Armenischen* ..., Innsbruck 1981, p. 75.

<sup>8</sup> Where the intrusive nasal must have been transported from the nasal present of the verb.

<sup>9</sup> The formation is new since it does not show Winter's lengthening.